

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-10 L-03  
SSO-00 SS-15 NSCE-00 SP-02 H-01 CIAE-00 INR-07  
NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 USIE-00 INRE-00 ISO-00 /097 W  
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O R 241448Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3199

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 9643

FROM USDEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF

SUBJECT: DRAFT DECLARATION ON ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE

REF: (A) USUN 2630, (B) LAGOS 9610

1. SUMMARY: AT BEGINNING OF THIRD DAY OF ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE IN LAGOS, CONFERENCE STILL HAD NOT FOCUSED ON DETAILS OF DRAFT DECLARATION. CANADIANS REPORTED THAT IN THE FIRST STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING CUBA AND GDR HAD INDICATED DESIRE TO MAKE CHANGES IN THE DRAFT DECLARATION. NIGERIAN PERMREP HARRIMAN GAVE AMBASSADOR MCHENRY COPY OF LATEST DRAFT, WHICH IS ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED IN KEY PARAGRAPHS FROM EARLIER DRAFT. (REFTEL A). DRAFTING COMMITTEE

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OF STEERING COMMITTEE WILL MEET TODAY TO WORK ON DRAFT. WE EXPECT QTE FINAL UNQTE DRAFT UNQTE TO JELL DURING NEXT 24 HOURS. NIGERIANS AND OTHERS ARE AWARE OF WESTERN CONCERNS WITH DRAFT. EN SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY MET LATE TUESDAY NIGHT WITH NIGERIA UN PERMREP AND CHAIRMAN OF APARTHEID COMMITTEE LESLIE HARRIMAN TO DISCUSS DRAFT DECLARATION. HARRIMAN HAD NOT HEARD FROM

OBASANJO AFTER AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S MEETING WITH OBASANJO (REFTEL B). HARRIMAN ALTHOUGH CONTAINING IMPROVED LANGUAGE ON COLONIALISM (PARA 26) GAVE MCHENRY COPY OF LATEST VERSION OF DRAFT DECLARATION WHICH WAS ESSENTIALLY UNCHANGED IN KEY PARAGRAPHS FROM EARLIER DRAFT (I.E., CHAPTER VII, TERMINATION OF NUCLEAR COOPERATION AND CESSATION OF LOANS TO AND INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA). HARRIMAN INDICATED LITTLE GIVE IN HIS POSITION ON KEY QUESTIONS.

3. AT MEETING OF WESTERN FIVE WEDNESDAY MORNING, CANADIANS, WESTERN MEMBER OF STEERING COMMITTEE, REPORTED THAT COMMITTEE HAD STILL NOT FOCUSED ON DETAILS OF DRAFT DECLARATION. CUBANS AND EAST GERMANS HAD COMPLAINED AT TUESDAY'S MEETING THAT THEY HAD NOT HAD A CHANCE TO REVIEW DRAFT DECLARATION. SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS ALSO HAVE APPARENTLY NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONTRIBUTE. CANADIANS EXPECT ADDITIONAL PARAGRAPHS TO BE SUGGESTED WHEN DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF STEERING COMMITTEE MEETS AGAIN THIS MORNING. THEY HOPE TO HAVE A BETTER IDEA BY END OF DAY WHAT FINAL DRAFT WILL LOOK LIKE.

4. WESTERN FIVE AGREED AT WEDNESDAY MORNING MEETING THAT NIGERIANS AND OTHER DELEGATIONS WERE WELL AWARE OF WESTERN PROBLEMS WITH DRAFT. FIVE AGREED THAT NEXT 24 HOURS WOULD PROBABLY SEE A CRYSTALLIZATION OF AFRICAN VIEWS. WE WOULD THEN BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO NEGOTIATE ANY CHANGES.

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5. AT MEETING ON TUESDAY, WESTERN FIVE HAD AGREED AD REFERENDUM TO FOLLOWING NEGOTIATING TACTICS AND CHANGES IN DRAFT DECLARATION:

- A. AGREED NOT TO FIGHT USE OF TERMS "MINORITY REGIME" OR "RACIST REGIMES" THROUGHOUT DRAFT. AFRICANS WILL NOT BUDGE ON THIS.
- B. PARAGRAPH 8. AGREED TO KEEP THE PARAGRAPH, PROVIDED THAT THE DECLARATION MAKES CLEAR ELSEWHERE THAT THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT COLONIAL. ALTERNATIVELY, TO DEFINE SELF-DETERMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA MORE PRECISELY.
- C. PARAGRAPH 16. AGREED TO PROPOSED USE OF SIMILAR LANGUAGE CONTAINED IN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON MOZAMBIQUE COMPLAINT IN JUNE 1977.
- D. PARAGRAPH 17. RECOMMENDED DROPPING PARAGRAPH ENTIRELY.  
(LATEST HARRIMAN DRAFT HAS DELETED THIS PARAGRAPH.)
- E. PARAGRAPH 18. THE GERMANS PROPOSED TO RE-PHRASE THE FINAL CLAUSE OF THE PARAGRAPH TO READ "IN THEIR LEGITIMATE STRUGGLE TO ATTAIN THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION." THE BRITISH SUBSEQUENTLY SUGGESTED THE ADDITION OF THE PHRASE "OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE AS A WHOLE" TO THE END OF THE GERMAN AMENDMENT. THE PARAGRAPH AS A WHOLE WOULD THEN READ: "GOVERNMENTS AND ORGANIZATIONS PARTICIPATING IN THE WORLD CONFERENCE PLEDGE TO USE THEIR SEPARATE AND COLLECTIVE EFFORTS FORTHWITH, AND ON A CONTINUING BASIS, TO BRING ABOUT THE ELIMINATION OF APARTHEID AND

TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE TO THE VICTIMS OF OPPRESSION AND TO LEND APPROPRIATE SUPPORT TO THEIR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE OAU IN THEIR LEGITIMATE STRUGGLE TO ATTAIN THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHTS TO THE SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PEOPLE AS A WHOLE."

ALL AGREED THAT THIS FORMULATION CLARIFIED THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT A COLONIAL SITUATION EXISTED IN SOUTH AFRICA, AS WELL AS REFUTING THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LAGOS 9643

FROM USDEL

F. PARAGRAPH 20. THE FIVE WERE NOT ABLE TO COME UP WITH ANY ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS WHICH WOULD MAKE THIS PARAGRAPH ACCEPTABLE. THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE PARAGRAPH PRESENTED PROBLEMS FOR ALL DELEGATIONS, EXCEPT THE BRITISH.

G. PARAGRAPH 21. ALL DELEGATIONS WANTED CHAPTER VII LANGUAGE REMOVED. AMBASSADOR YOUNG RAISED THIS POINT WITH NIGERIAN HEAD OF STATE OBASANJO AT TUESDAY'S MEETING (REFTEL B).

H. PARAGRAPH 22. WHILE ALL FIVE AGREED THAT THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE PARAGRAPH SHOULD BE REMOVED ENTIRELY, TWO FALL-BACK POSITIONS WERE SUGGESTED:

-- TAKE THE LAST SENTENCE BEGINNING WITH THE WORDS "IN PARTICULAR"  
AND INSERT THE REST OF THE SENTENCE AFTER THE PHRASE "ANY  
ECONOMIC OR OTHER RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA." THE PARAGRAPH  
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WOULD THEN READ: "THE CONFERENCE COMMENDS ALL GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAVE TAKEN ECONOMIC AND OTHER MEASURES AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, IN ACCORDANCE WITH UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS, TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID AND THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. IT CALLS UPON ALL OTHER GOVERNMENTS AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS TO REFRAIN FROM ANY ECONOMIC OR OTHER RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA, IN PARTICULAR THE CESSATION OF LOANS TO, AND INVESTMENTS IN, SOUTH AFRICA WHICH ENGAGE AND ASSIST THE MINORITY REGIME IN ITS IMPOSITION OF APARTHEID;" OR

-- SIMPLY CHANGE THE PERIOD AT THE END OF THE SECOND SENTENCE TO A COMMA, AND DROP THE WORDS "IT URGES", THEREBY MAKING THE THIRD SENTENCE AN ADDITIONAL CLAUSE TO THE SECOND SENTENCE. ALL SIDES PREFERRED THE FIRST FALL-BACK POSITION SINCE IT PUT THE CESSATION OF LOANS AND INVESTMENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF ACTIONS WHICH ENCOURAGE AND ASSIST SOUTH AFRICA IN ITS IMPOSITION OF APARTHEID. THE GERMANS ARGUED THAT THE SECOND FALL-BACK POSITION ALSO PUT THE LOANS AND INVESTMENTS QUESTION IN THE SAME CONTEXT, ALTHOUGH THE SECOND FALL-BACK WAS NOT AS CLEAR ON THIS POINT AS THE FIRST.

I. PARAGRAPH 26. THE FIVE AGREED TO AWAIT THE PROMISED REFORMULATION OF THIS PARAGRAPH BY THE NIGERIANS. THE LATEST NIGERIAN DRAFT HAS BEEN CHANGED AND READS AS FOLLOWS: "THE LIBERATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AS A WHOLE FROM COLONIAL AND RACIST RULE WILL BE THE FINAL STEP IN THE EMANCIPATION OF THE CONTINENT OF AFRICA FROM CENTURIES OF DOMINATION AND HUMILIATION. IT WILL BE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO THE ELIMINATION OF RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORLD, AND TO THE STRENGTHENING OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.")

6. NOTE: WITH THE DROPPING OF PARAGRAPH 17 IN THE LATEST DRAFT, ALL PREVIOUS PARAGRAPHS SHOULD BE RENUMBERED. CURRENT DRAFT CONTAINS A TOTAL OF TWENTY SIX PARAGRAPHS.

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## Message Attributes

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